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“And the Lord God said unto the SERPENT,
“Because thou hast *done this*, thou art cursed
“above all cattle, and above every beast of
“the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and
“dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.”
—GENESIS, chap. iii. verse 14.

LIBERAL

WHIG PROSECUTION.

TO THE COBBETTITES,

Kensington, 11th July, 1831.

MY FRIENDS,

ALL, except those few of you who were present at the trial on Thursday last, the 7th instant, will, through the newspapers, have heard of the result, long before this can reach you. The beggarly report that the partial, envious, base, and malignant daily papers of London have given, will, defective as it was, have given you some idea of the manner in which my defence was conducted. A full and fair report, published in a pamphlet, for extensive circulation, will show you that I did the thing in a way which, even if I had been defeated, would still have given you reason to be proud of being thought my disciples. The moment the dirty bill of indictment was preferred against me, I pledged myself to you (in *Register* of 26th of February last), “that the
“WHIGS having chosen to light up this
“candle, it was my business to take
“care that it should not be put under a
“bushel; that I would contest the
“ground with them inch by inch; that
“their dirty bill of indictment should
“fail them; that my readers might

“rely upon it that I would *do the thing*
“*well*; that my enemies wanted to
“drive me out of the country; that the
“beasts forgot the difference between
“the present circumstances and those
“of 1817; that they forgot that I had
“then seven children, the oldest only
“seventeen, and the youngest only
“three, and that I had now, by God’s
“blessing, and my own industry and
“care and example, *sons to support*
“*me*; and that, if God preserved my
“life until the day, I would make this
“prosecution *one of the things by which*
“*the Whig Ministry should be remem-*
“*bered.*”

Now, my friends, amongst the most valued of whom I always include the excellently good fellows of Preston, every one of these pledges I have fulfilled to the very letter; and amongst all the pleasing circumstances of the memorable day on which I fulfilled them, no circumstance gave me a thousandth part of the delight that I derived from the circumstance that my powerful and inexorable persecutors had to sit and behold me *supported by two of my sons*. My friends, the report of the trial, together with the notes which will be subjoined to it, will give you full information with regard to what passed at this memorable trial. But there are some circumstances with regard to the *conduct of the audience* in the court, and with regard to the *result of the trial*, which I think necessary to communicate to my readers in every part of the world. When I went into the court, which was about ten minutes before the Judge entered it, I found the whole of the court crowded in every part, so as to find great difficulty in getting in; and, indeed, a body of door-keepers made a desperate effort to keep out my three sons and three other gentlemen who accompanied me into the court. The moment I entered the court, there was a *great and general clapping and cheering* for some time. When I got to my station I, in order to produce

silence, turned round, and, addressing myself to the audience, said, "*Be patient, gentlemen, for, if truth prevail, we shall beat them.*" Soon after this the Chief Justice entered the court and took his seat. Soon after him came in the Attorney-General; and he, in opening his address to the Jury, told them that I had come into the court *with a great mob at my heels*; and that a shouting had taken place, which *showed the spirit* in which the defence was to be conducted. This was an *abominable falsehood*. I went from Kensington in a close carriage, hired at Kensington. At Bolt-court I stopped, took into the carriage Sir Thomas Beevor, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Blount, and my attorney, Mr. Edward Faithfull, of Staple's-inn, and one of my sons rode on the box with the coachman. We went directly to the Court-house, got out of the coach, and went into the court as quickly as possible. I had neither spoken nor written, nor in any way addressed myself to any soul for the purpose of obtaining an attendance at the court, except solely to those persons whom I intended to bring forward as witnesses. So that the Attorney-General began his address with *a falsehood*, and that, too, for the malignant purpose of prepossessing the minds of the Jury, that I had meant to influence them in their decision by means of "*intimidation.*"

But though I had made no efforts to collect people together upon the occasion, the WHIG newspapers, the stupid OBSERVER, the savage OLD TIMES, the dirty, puking thing called the GLOBE, the vagabond COURIER, the shuffling CHRONICLE, and, perhaps, all the rest, had sent through their dirty columns intelligence that the trial was *put off until the 11th of the month*; a thing which these beasts would not have done, had there not been some "*miscreant instigator,*" who, for reasons best known to himself and his crew, was anxious to have *as few people as possible to hear this trial*. The vagabond COURIER, in the afternoon of the day of the trial, told its besotted readers, that "*COBBETT'S trial was going on without exciting the least interest,*

and to an empty court." Great numbers of persons had been prevented from coming from the country by the lie beforementioned; but at the very moment when the vagabond COURIER was promulgating this last intelligence, the court was crowded to suffocation; between two and three thousand persons, if not quite three thousand, were in it, and had been in it from the opening of the court; there was I addressing the Jury, every now and then receiving such marks of applause as induced the Chief Justice to threaten to clear the court; and there sat the Cabinet Ministers, ranged before me, to hear the words which drew forth that applause.

After the trial was over, and the Jury had been discharged, some of these corrupt and dastardly vehicles, particularly the savage OLD TIMES and the dirty, lying thing called the GLOBE, promulgated that there were *two* of the jurymen only that were *for acquittal*, and that the other *ten* were *for guilty*. Judge of the infamy of these papers when you know that the Judge stated in open court, that he had received a letter from the Jury, stating that *six of them were of one opinion and six of them of another*; that they saw no likelihood of being able to agree; and that they, therefore, begged to be discharged. Hereupon the Judge discharged them. All this took place *in open court*; and yet these two infamous papers published the lie above-mentioned.

What people had in their hearts it is impossible for me to say; but this I know, that I left the court, at half after eight, just as full of people as I found it; that at twelve o'clock there were five hundred persons still remaining; that at three o'clock in the morning there were two hundred persons more, amongst whom there was one lady who had been in the court from the commencement of the trial; that a considerable number remained till the Judge came to the court in the morning, some having kept themselves awake all the time, and others having slept upon the benches. My attorney slept in the jury-box, and one gentleman slept in the Judge's chair.

It was necessary to state these facts in the way of preface. As to what took place with regard to the accusation and the defence, the report of the trial will speak for itself; and speak loudly it will to the hearts of Englishmen, long after we of the present generation shall be in our graves.

But there are other circumstances, connected with this trial, with regard to which circumstances the public in general, and my readers in particular, ought to be informed. I am aware that there are several most important public matters which call for my immediate attention; but this is a great public matter too, and it is one which private feeling as well as public duty calls upon me to discharge. Amongst all these circumstances, none is of more importance than the conduct of my Lord RADNOR upon this occasion. I think it is about a year and a quarter since any communication, verbal or written, has taken place between us. He had a seat in Parliament to bestow; I suspected that he would have applications from numerous parties to put me into that seat; I knew the difficulties that stood in the way of his doing that; and even if he had fallen in my way on any occasion, I should have felt myself embarrassed. Being at Highworth, in Wiltshire, last summer, very near to that village of Coltshill which I have known for thirty years to be made so happy by his gentleness and goodness, I was very desirous to see the plantations of Locusts, for the making of which I had sold him the plants, and very desirous also to see one happy village, after having seen so many miserable ones; but, the late king was daily expected to die, an election was close at hand, I could not endure the thought of giving him the pain of a personal interview; and, therefore, before I went to the village, I ascertained that he was not there. About a fortnight before the trial came on, we were talking, at home, of those gentlemen in the country, whom we should give the trouble to come to town to give evidence at the trial. My wife suggested to me to write to Lord RADNOR, to which sug-

gestion I answered, that I was sure that that was unnecessary; and that, after my recent observations with regard to the members put in for DOWNTON, to write to him for the purpose would be a meanness unworthy of our character. Besides, I assured her that it was wholly unnecessary, for that I would stake my existence that he would be at the trial without any application from any-body. "This," said I, "is a very different thing from that of member-of-parliament-making. In that case he might yield, and he had a right to yield, and it was amiable in him to yield to the importunities of those whose affections constitute so great a part of his happiness; but, I am sure that all the world will *never make him do injustice* either by commission or omission; and, therefore, I am as assured that he will be there as if the time were come, and I saw him sitting by the side of the Judge." The very next day came a letter from him to tell me that he would be present at the trial to give me an opportunity of calling upon him if I would, which letter I answered by thanking him for his kind intention. At the trial he was; on the bench he sat during the whole of the trial, and my attorney, Mr. Faithfull, informed me, that he remained with my Lord, the Chief Justice, till nine o'clock at night, when they both went away. No, no, he was not to be withheld from interposing between me and destruction: he could see clearly the object of this prosecution: he could not forget the hundreds of times in which I had so earnestly represented to him the ill-treatment of the labourers, and the great danger that must finally arise from driving them to despair; he could not forget the hundreds of proofs that he had seen of my sincerity in those wishes which I expressed to prevent this whole frame of Government from being torn to pieces by convulsions arising from that despair; he could not forget how often I had predicted, that the severity of the unnatural game-laws, and the oppression arising out of STURGES BOURNE'S Bills, must finally, if not put an end to in time, produce a devastation

of the country; in short, he knew me well to the very bottom of my heart; he was well acquainted with my goodness and kindness to every soul coming within my power and my influence; and I was sure that nothing upon earth would restrain him from standing up and, in the face of the whole nation, declaring, in the most explicit manner, that this charge against me was a malignant calumny.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL made it matter of accusation against me, that the audience clapped and cheered when I entered the court. In his reply, he took the unwarrantable liberty to call my Lord RADNOR his noble Friend; but he did not think proper to make it matter of accusation *against him*, that the audience *clapped and cheered when he gave his evidence*. Nor did my Lord, the Chief Justice, at that time, threaten to have the court cleared, though his Lordship had done it (I do not say improperly) two or three times when the audience cheered me for the scorpion strokes that I was laying upon the backs of the Whigs. Alas! how different would have been the state of this nation at this time, if my Lord RADNOR had been made Prime Minister, or even Secretary of State for the Home Department, in November last! Not an execution, not a transportation, and scarcely an act of violence, should we have heard of after his entering into office. His wisdom, his perfect knowledge of the causes of the sufferings of the country; his great experience in country affairs; his superiority of understanding over the whole mass of the men now in power: these would have insured to the country peace and safety. Notwithstanding the way in which these men have acted towards me, I do not impute to them the *intention* of implanting angry and vengeful feelings in the breasts of millions; but, supposing them to have intentions as good as those of my Lord RADNOR, they want his knowledge; they want his profound and familiar understanding of all the real causes of the ruin, the suffering and the dangers of the country; and for more than ten years past, there is nothing that I have

lamented so much as his Lordship's want of confidence in himself, and this I have expressed to him an hundred times over. It has many and many times made me rave like a madman to see him contentedly be the mere supporter of a set of people, the whole of whom put together do not possess a thousandth part of his capacity for managing the affairs of the nation. Even to his face, notwithstanding the respect which I have always had for him, I have sometimes been unable to keep myself within the bounds prescribed by that deference and decorum which I always observed in my intercourse with him. I remember particularly, that at the time of the panic, when he called upon me in Fleet Street, on that very day when every one expected the whole system to go to pieces, he found me reading the volume in which is contained the Norfolk Petition. After some introductory conversation, I said, "Now, my Lord, the just and peaceable settlement of this affair; the preservation of every thing dear to England; the preservation of your own order especially, the descent of your own wealth and your honours to your children, may be accomplished by you, and by you alone: you have the necessary knowledge, the necessary integrity, the necessary zeal, the necessary spotless character; all you want is, to summon up the necessary confidence in yourself."— "And," said he, "that is what I do want, Cobbett." "Then," said I, dashing the book out of my hand upon the table, "first or last, the whole thing goes to pieces like a ship upon the rocks;" and such, I greatly fear, will still be the end.

It is not the power attending place that I want to see him possessed of, or that I ever wanted to see him possessed of; it is not the glory of political triumph that I ever wished him to achieve; it is not any triumph that his power would give to any party or any description of persons. To add to his wealth would be like cramming of food into a stomach already overcharged; and as to honours, as they are called, God knows there are none to bestow which can add

the weight of a hair to his character. But there is something far beyond all these: there is duty to his country; there is the well-being of millions; there is the peace and happiness of millions of industrious and virtuous families, against which there is nothing on earth that ought to weigh as a feather. It has pleased God to give him a great portion of the land of his fathers; to give him, at the same time, rare understanding and an upright heart; but these have not been given him for his own exclusive enjoyment. "Where much has been given, much is required in return;" and if I, who have had a family actually to labour for for forty years past, have thought it my bounden duty to prefer even the sacrifice of their ease to riches acquired by neglect of my duty: if I, who was born and bred up a labourer, with no possession other than that which arose from the sweat of my brow; if I have thought it my duty to make such great sacrifices as I have made from this sense of duty, how imperative are the calls upon this nobleman, whose understanding, with regard to the affairs of this nation, is surpassed by that of no human being! His very *name*, promulgated as minister of the King, would quiet the whole country at once; give confidence to all, and produce a patient waiting for those measures without which confusion must come.

The next circumstance which I think it right to mention, as connected with this trial, is this, that the merit of having made this stand for the liberties of England, by no means belongs wholly to myself, but is amply shared by that virtuous wife and family in whom want of fortitude has never shown itself in any of the persecutions I have had to endure. When I received the news of the bill of indictment having been found, I was by no means surprised; for I had had time to view the proceedings of Trevor, the concurrent movements in Sussex, the pretty palaver of the Ministers in Parliament, the confession of Goodman at Horsham jail, and the certificate of the three magistrates, BURRELL, TREADCROFT, and BLUNT; the

trick of the LIAR disclaiming all connection with Carlile, Taylor, and Cobbett; the canvassing of the prisoners in Winchester jail, *as to whether they knew any thing of Cobbett and Carlile*; the asking of the two men who were put to death at Winchester, whether they knew any-thing of Cobbett and Carlile; the pardon of Goodman, and thereupon the vehement howl of the bloody old *Times* for heavy punishment on Cobbett and Carlile. All these things I had viewed, and, therefore, when the news of the indictment was brought to my house in Bolt-court, by a reporter of the *Star* newspaper, about eight o'clock in the evening, and when the servant came up and told me of it, after I was in bed, I prayed to God to protect me, turned myself round, and fell fast asleep. The next morning I went home to Kensington, and having sat down with my family, whom I found at breakfast, and who had received me with marks of affection suitable to the occasion, I said: "Well, here we are, engaged in that deadly fight which I have always told you must take place before the end came. The manifest intention is to drive me out of the country, or to kill me. Not an inch will I move. I am not easily killed; but let what will be the consequence, defiance will I hurl in the teeth of these Ministers to the last moment of my life. I have lived sixty-five years, and, owing to you, they have been happy years. Sooner or later I must come to my end; and that end shall come now, rather than the world shall have to fling in your teeth that I was made to flinch from the violence of these men." The whole group heard my resolution with delight. They had made up their minds to the same thing before my arrival. So that here I met with nothing to dismay; and the language of us all, from that moment to the day of trial, was all indignation and defiance, which, too, was fully recorded in the *Register* at every stage. Not a tear, not a sigh, not a sorrowful look did this dreadful menace produce in my family, if I except one little mark of anxiety which dis-

covered itself in my wife on the morning of my trial. She had got me a pair of new silk stockings to wear on that day; and when I put them on I found them too short, and spoke rather hastily about it, whereupon she made a little bit of a cry. It was not about the stockings: it was a pretence to cover her apprehensions, the moment of danger being so near at hand. She was fortified in a minute; and this was the only symptom of uneasiness, even of uneasiness, discovered by any one of my family, from the first announcement of the danger to the moment when it was over. As to my two sons, John and James, it would have been worth years of imprisonment to witness their conduct. They instantly set to work to prepare for the defence, as soon as we found that the Whigs were in real earnest; that is to say, when they gave us the *last* notice of trial. The first notice I thought very little of. I thought they had a little too much sense, a little too much low cunning to bring it on in the midst of the elections, and before the people (*roused by me*) had given them a decided majority. I therefore instructed Mr. Faithfull to retain a gentleman of the bar, in case the thing should come on while I was in Hampshire, as I then expected to be, to see the corn planted in the garden of the widow Mason, at Bullington. Owing to the state of the weather, the planting of my own corn detained me in town till after the day first appointed for the trial. In the meanwhile, the *countermand* came; and every one, not acquainted with the character of the Whigs, thought that the thing was over for ever; but when the second notice came, which was on Monday the 13th of June, we, having heard in the meanwhile dreadful threats and most awful forebodings, resolved, upon the principle inculcated by the fable of the lark and her young ones, that it was absolutely necessary *to do the thing ourselves*. In the seventeen remaining days of the month of June, I had to write a *Two-penny Trash* for the 1st of July, the fifth number of the *History of George IV.* for the same day, and three weekly

Registers, two of which were equal in bulk, in my own writing, to a couple of three-shilling pamphlets. I had, besides these, to write, for insertion in the Spelling-Book which I have printing, an *Easy Introduction to my English Grammar*. My son, John, undertook the preparing of my case, assisted by his brother in the evenings, the latter being engaged in the day-time with his master in town.

And now let me address myself to young men, and show them how it is that great labour is performed with ease; how it is that a man of sixty-five becomes able to stand for four hours and a half without the quivering of a muscle; without faltering in an accent; a voice as strong at the last as at the first, and without wetting his lips all the time with drink or with juice of any description. I rose every morning at about four o'clock, shaved and dressed, went into the garden, looked at my corn and my flowers, gave my instructions for the day to the gardener, then came in by about half after four, long before the street was in a rattle from the coaches, and for two hours and a half, while all was serene in mind, sat down and wrote a piece of the *Introduction to my Grammar*. By seven o'clock, the coaches were rattling in the street and the maid rattling with the breakfast things. The Grammar was put by, and I took another turn in the garden and into my farm-yard, to see my pigs and my cows. Between breakfast and dinner came the *Register*, or the *Trash*, or the *History*. At one o'clock came the dinner; and after that, if I, by garden, cows, pigs, and the rest of it could keep my eyes open till eight o'clock, I then went to bed, leaving my sons to discuss the case of the Liberal Whig Prosecution. Thus I went on until Sunday, the 3rd of July; Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, my son John spent in putting me in possession of my case. On the day of my trial, I, having had seven hours' sound, unbroken sleep, got up at four o'clock, went into the garden and gave instructions for the day, came off for Bolt-court at six, arrived there at seven, found breakfast

ready for me and a good many friends ; and now, mind, ate about half a pound of good fat leg of lamb, roasted the day before, ate no bread or any-thing else with it, and no salt, and never drank one drop of any-thing that whole day until after the conclusion of my speech, when I drank two stone bottles of milk, out of a horn, given to me last summer by a pretty little American lady, the wife of Mr. COOKE, the portrait painter, who has now, with his wife returned to America from Paris, and who will feel proud that I selected their present to be used upon this occasion. I went into the Court at nine in the morning, and never once moved from my station until half after eight in the evening, when I and my sons and country friends, and my attorney, went to dine with a friend in the city, or rather to sup. I got home at twelve o'clock at night, a later hour than that at which I have been out of bed for a great many years.

Thus it is to lead a life of sobriety. God has not made me different from other men ; but the persecutions that I have endured, and the natural desire which I had to see my enemies under my feet, have made me sober and abstinent ; and sobriety and abstinence have prolonged in me vigour of body and of mind. Over eating is as great an enemy to health as over drinking. I am abstinent as to the former, and as to the latter, my drink is skim milk. Let no young man pretend that milk does not agree with him. Taken in the morning it is said to make people heavy. It did this to me for a little while, about twenty years ago, when I set my heart upon obtaining just vengeance for the cruel punishment inflicted on me by Gibbs, Ellenborough, and their associates. From that day to this never have I known a headache, and seldom a muddled head, even after sitting up at night. This trial will have done good in many respects, and amongst the goods will be that of producing sobriety, abstinence, and early rising in thousands of young men.

Another pleasing circumstance attending this trial is the feeling which it has produced throughout the whole

country. The effect, too, will be prodigious. Into every hamlet, before next Monday, the news will have gone, that the Whig Government has been defeated in an attempt to destroy a man because he wrote a paper the great object of which was to palliate the violent conduct of the labouring people. The name of poor Cook, and the circumstance of his father being in the court while his case was stated, will be upon the lips and sink into the hearts of all the working people of England. The dark transaction with regard to GOODMAN, whose life was saved, though he set five fires, and was proved to have done so from private malice, while the poor ploughman, HENRY COOK, of Micheldever, was, according to the Judge's own statement, put to death for knocking down Bingham Baring on the Friday, who was walking the streets of Winchester on the Saturday, and presented at Court the next Monday ; this dark transaction with regard to THOMAS GOODMAN, of Battle, in Sussex, will be known to, and produce the proper effect upon, every man in the kingdom, from the cliffs of Dover to the beach of Penzance ; from the Highlands of Scotland to Pevensey-Level.

To all my friends in the country ; to the towns in the north ; to all the counties north, west, east, and south, I return my thanks for the great interest they have evinced in this affair ; but particularly to the honest and kind people of the town of Battle, in Sussex, and of the thirteen villages near that town, from which I had brought me the solemn declaration which I read in the court, signed by an hundred and three men, who were present at the lecture at Battle, and two of whom, Mr. SAWYER, of BURWASH, and Mr. JAMES GUTSELL, of Battle, attended at the trial, the latter giving his evidence, and the former not being required. Mr. GUTSELL, who took round the declaration to be signed, behaved in a manner throughout the whole business to entitle him to the praise and friendship of every one who heard of his conduct. All that part of the country was full of anxiety ; and they will have

heard of the result of the trial with a degree of satisfaction, surpassed, if surpassed at all, only by that of the people of the ten little hard parishes lying between Winchester and Whitchurch.

Some people have supposed that the Ministers came to the trial out of curiosity. I must do them the justice to say that they were not fools enough to do that. I forced them to come by *subpœna*; and I intended to question them every one, if the Judge would permit me, with regard to the grounds on which they advised his Majesty to extend his pardon to THOMAS GOODMAN. For this purpose I brought together, to sit upon the bench in front of me, Lords GREY, BROUGHAM, MELBOURNE, DURHAM, GODERICH, and PALMERSTON. I did not subpœna Lord Holland, on account of his infirmities; LORD AUCKLAND and MR. GRANT I forgot; the Marquis of Lansdowne my attorney could not get at before he was compelled to go to court along with me; and LORD ALTHORP, the shining Chancellor of the Exchequer, we could not find. However, we had the Lord Chancellor, the Prime Minister, the three Secretaries of State, and the accomplished Lord of the Privy Seal; and there they sat, ranged in a row upon the bench, together with the noble correspondent of PARSON SLAPP, to hear my defence, and, which was a great deal more to them, *to hear the voluntary evidence of the really noble Earl of RADNOR*; and there sat between two and three thousand intelligent men to witness the scene. From every county in England, I believe, some one man or more was present. Well might I say that it was a day of joy to me! it was a day of reward going ten thousand times beyond all that I had ever merited. It appears to have been intended by Providence to wipe away all the infamous aspersions which the enemies of the happiness of the country have so long been heaping upon me. A great example and great encouragement to young men to have fortitude, to bear up under unjust reproaches, and to persevere in well doing to the last. I subpœnaed WILTSHIRE BENNETT. The

scope of my defence did not allow me to call him, or my intention was, to ask him what it was that induced him to aid the prosecution in the House of Commons, by saying that he ascribed the troubles in Wiltshire to me; however, there he sat, just beneath me, while he heard me speak of the pound and a quarter of bread and a half-penny a day for food and clothing, and while he heard me question which was the hardest, flint-stones or the heart of the man that could award such an allowance to the members of a labourer's family.

Three things I omitted: the first was, to call the Rev. A. D. MORRICE, the curate of Great Brickhill, in Buckinghamshire, who is also the rector, or vicar, of a small parish in Kent. He very much wished to be called; and my apology is, that my son omitted to put his name down, and that he was thus overlooked. SIR WILLIAM INGILBY was there for the purpose of being called; but feeling that I had done enough I did not wish to give unnecessary trouble. Two things, however, I omitted from sheer oversight: one was to place JOHN COOK of Micheldever down in the Court opposite the Attorney-General: the other was, omitting to subpœna BINGHAM BARING, in order that he might have, if he had chosen to avail himself of it, an opportunity of contradicting the affidavit of his father's servant, LOVELL. However, he will, when he has read the trial and the affidavit, have an opportunity to give the contradiction in the face of all Hampshire.

Before I conclude this article I cannot refrain from noticing a paragraph which appeared last Sunday in that dirty, time-serving weekly paper called the OBSERVER, to which paragraph, as it here follows, I beg the best attention of my readers: "It will be seen from an abstract elsewhere that Mr. Cobbett was tried for a libel on Thursday, and that a portion of the Jury (*a small portion*, we believe) either thought that Mr. Cobbett was right in rejoicing that the labourers took violent measures to obtain a redress of their grievances, or that the labourers themselves had

“ committed no crime, and, therefore, “ they refused to consent to a verdict of “ guilty, and were necessarily dis- “ charged. The prosecution of Mr. “ Cobbett, who, after all, exercises but “ a very slight influence on the class of “ persons whose conduct is said to have “ been affected by his counsels, has na- “ turally excited *some surprise*; and “ *reflections not very gratifying to the “ present administration* have been cast “ on the course it dictates to the officers “ of the crown. We have heard, how- “ ever, and from *very satisfactory au- “ thority*, that THEIR share of the “ BLAME amounts to little more than “ CONNIVANCE; and that the in- “ dictment for the libel was SUG- “ GESTED and PERSEVERED in as “ the FULFILMENT OF A PRO- “ MISE, given by A VERY EXALTED “ PERSONAGE to a few of the Sussex “ landholders, during a late sojourn at “ Brighton.”

Now, will the Attorney-General pro- secute this? or will he say that he cannot prosecute it because it is *true*? What have we here? A description of a prosecution which has excited *surprise* in the public, and has caused *unpleasant reflections* to be cast upon the Ministers. Then we have an assertion that little share of the BLAME belongs to them; for that the prosecution was *suggested* and *persevered in* by a VERY EXALTED PERSONAGE, and that, too, in consequence of a PROMISE made by that personage to a few of the Sussex landholders! Nothing can be plainer than this: a thing impossible that any reader should misunderstand who is meant by the very exalted personage; impossible for any one to believe that this paragraph was not contrived and intended to cast upon that PERSONAGE the “ BLAME ” of this odious prosecu- tion; and yet we shall see that, if this personage be defended against this most outrageous attack, he will be left, as the Judges were, to defend himself.

As to the fact, however, it is at once a mean and monstrous Whig-like lie. Never did this “ very exalted person- age ” interfere in the matter; and if he had, so much the more mean, so much

the more base those who were the in- struments in the affair, who, if their judgment were contrary to the dictates of this “ personage,” ought to have re- signed their offices rather than obey those dictates. The story, however, like the confession of Goodman, is a lie from the beginning to the end, an invented, a hatched, a fabricated lie; and the publication of it a libel on this personage, greater, on account of the exaltation of the personage, even than the atrocious libels on the Judges: be- cause it is manifestly calculated to throw on that exalted personage an act which the writer of the libel himself represents as a subject of blame with the people. But it is a lie, I again say; and all the attempts that are making to cause it to be believed that *this* Minister or *that* Minister was against the prosecution, are wholly vain. They all kept their places till the prosecution had been tried and had failed; and as there is unanimity in the keeping of the places, why are we to suppose that they were not unanimous with regard to this prosecution. In- finite pains had been taken amongst the Attorney-General’s old twaddling cro- nies in the Corporation of the City, to cause it to be believed that HE, for- sooth, was against the prosecution. But such is not the belief with the merchants and independent tradesmen of the city, who have nothing to do with the gormandise and guzzle. Being *for* the prosecution, when compared with his former professions, marks him down for what I will not describe. But those who have the brass to assert that he was *against* it, mark him out for the finger of scorn, as the meanest and most mercenary of all mankind. I give him free liberty to take his choice; but I cannot dismiss this part of the subject without expressing my belief that he was for the prosecution with all his heart and all his soul.

Well, now, what is to be done to commemorate this affair? I have seen in one of the papers, I forget which, a notice about a dinner; and several gen- tlemen have called at Bolt-court, and have written to me about a subscription to defray my expenses. With regard to

the former, though I do not like dinners, I shall leave gentlemen to do as they please; but with regard to the latter, I absolutely decline that. Any-thing that is done should be calculated to have a *lasting* effect, such as a piece of plate presented to me, having inscribed on it the history of this prosecution. However, the friends of reform and of the liberty of the press will have time enough to think of this; in the meanwhile I shall do the thing here following; that is to say, publish in a very few days a full-length portrait of myself, the plate about nineteen inches long and fourteen inches wide, a beautifully executed lithographic engraving, made from a picture painted by Mr.

COOKE, an American artist, who was at my house last summer, and with whom and whose lady one of my sons and one of my daughters formed an acquaintance some months before at Rome. At the bottom of this portrait I shall put, in facsimile of my own hand-writing, the whole of the words here below, and shall put my name at the bottom, written by my own hand with a pen. The price of the portrait will be ten shillings, with the usual allowance to those who are printsellers, or who purchase to sell again; half the usual price of such a print, for the purpose of extensive circulation. The words at the bottom of the portrait will be as follows:—

WILLIAM COBBETT,

Represented in the dress which I wore at the Trial, before the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Tenterden and a Special Jury, in the Guildhall of the City of London, on the 7th of July, 1831, in the first year of the Reign of King William the Fourth; which Trial was on the prosecution of an Indictment for a pretended Libel, published in my Register of the 11th of December, 1830; which prosecution was ordered by the Whig Ministry, consisting of EARL GREY, First Lord of the Treasury, LORD BROUGHAM, Lord Chancellor, the MARQUIS OF LANSDOWN, Lord President of the Council, LORD DURHAM, Lord Privy Seal, LORD VISCOUNT MELBOURNE, Secretary of State for the Home Department, LORD VISCOUNT GODERICH, Secretary of State for the Colonies, LORD PALMERSTON, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, LORD HOLLAND, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, LORD AUCKLAND, President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint, SIR JAMES GRAHAM, First Lord of the Admiralty, MR. CHARLES GRANT, President of the Board of Controul, and LORD ALTHORP, Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Attorney General being SIR THOMAS DENMAN, the Solicitor General, SIR W. HORNE; and the Trial, which lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till seven at night, being for the prosecution, conducted by the Attorney General, MR. GURNEY and MR. WIGHTMAN, and their Attorney, MR. MAUL, Solicitor of the Treasury, and, on my part, by myself, aided by the suggestions of my two sons, John and James, and of my Attorney, Mr. Edward C. Faithfull; the result of the whole being that, the next morning, at nine o'clock, the

Jury (JOHN EVANS and WILLIAM STAREY, ESQs., JOSEPH BISHOP, JAMES WILKINSON, JOSEPH LEGGINS, JOHN WOOD, THOMAS JENKINS, THOMAS MALTBY, RICHARD BEESTON, JAMES FRISBY, Merchants, WM. J. LAWSON, Banker, John Seeley, Bookseller) sent a Letter to the Judge, saying that they were six of one opinion and six of another, that they saw no prospect of coming to an unanimous decision, and that they, therefore, begged to be discharged; and that, thereupon, the Judge discharged them, and, by that act, pronounced an acquittal, to the great joy of the audience, some of whom had waited in the Court the whole of the night, and to the lasting benefit of our country, and particularly of her industrious and virtuous and hardly-treated labouring people, whose happiness, after that of my own flesh and blood, I have, during a life of 65 years, constantly preferred to every other earthly consideration.

WM. COBBETT.

This will be something that will tend to commemorate the event. We are too apt to forget, not events, but names and dates, and particular circumstances. This portrait, thus furnished, will be a complete commemoration; it will be ready for delivery, I should suppose, in the course of a fortnight at farthest. I now take my leave of this subject, except that it may now and then serve to furnish an illustrative parenthesis. Many most important subjects press forward for notice at this time; and they demand and must have my attention; I must, however, mention that a full and complete REPORT OF THE TRIAL is preparing by a gentleman who took it down in short-hand, and who will be furnished by my son John with all the documents read in court. To circulate this trial is a thing which I have nearest to my heart. To cause it to be read in every village and every hamlet in England, is the thing for us real, real reformers to do. If every man in England could have heard me on the day of the trial, every abuse would cease to exist in a week. The next best thing is, to enable the people to read all that I said; and it appears to me that we should make a subscription to raise the means of purchasing from the proprietor twenty thousand copies

of the trial, and cause them to be distributed by known friends in every county in England; and also in those parts of Scotland where we have friends, especially at Paisley and at Glasgow. Those gentlemen who may wish to subscribe for this purpose, might each of them have a certain number of copies sent to them. But, we do not yet know the price. That and other particulars shall be stated in my next Register. The reader is aware that Sion College, the two Universities, and same other bodies, have a right, by law, to call upon the publisher of every book for a copy of that book without pay; and it is curious that some of these bodies have already called upon me for the trial. I therefore hereby inform their eager worshippers that it is not the habit of my life to rob other people of the fruit of their labour; and that the gentleman who took down this trial in short-hand, will publish it on his own account, and will, as he ought to do, have the profits as a reward for the use of his talents. I shall, in my next, notify the place and time of publication.

I am, my friends,

Your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

POSTSCRIPT.—I forgot to mention, that I have been informed that Mr. HUME wrote to some of the Ministers to persuade them to abandon the prosecution. I never spoke to Mr. Hume but upon one occasion in my whole life, and that was in the year 1825, on the subject of Mr. Jones's petition. I have had no occasion to have any intercourse with him since, until just before the last dissolution of Parliament, when I sent him a petition, accompanied with the necessary vouchers, to prove its truth in contradiction of the petition of pretended workmen of mine, which the LIAR caused to be written in his own house and under his own eye, and then sent round for signatures by the vilest monster that ever disgraced the human shape, and which fabricated petition the LIAR has sent to several gentlemen in the country, under his own frank, all which facts are ready to be proved in a court of justice whenever I shall choose. Upon this business I wrote to Mr. HUME a note, and received one from him in return, promising to present my petition; which would have been done, but the Parliament was dissolved in two days afterwards. With regard to Mr. HUME's application to the Ministers to abandon the prosecution, I know nothing of it but from hearsay. If I had known that he was about to do it, I should have requested him to desist. From conversation with SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS, and from subsequent explanation on his part, I knew that he was about to write, and afterwards, that he had written to DENMAN and BROUGHAM, that brace of chivalrous brothers. I expressly told Sir Richard Phillips that if he did anything of the kind it would be against my wish, and when I found he had done it, I expressed my regret, though I felt grateful to him for his benevolent feelings on the subject. The PALMERS of Herefordshire wrote to Mr. PRICE, one of the members for that county, requesting him to *intercede* with LORD GREY! Who can blame such effects of kindness and anxiety? The moment we heard this at Kensington, my son John wrote off to one of the brothers, I

forget which, beseeching him to withdraw the application in all haste, and to assure Mr. PRICE (if a letter had been sent to Mr. PRICE) that the application was made without my consent and against my wish. One cannot help the effect of the kindness of friends; but let this tell the Whig faction; let this tell that greedy and malignant faction, that even the rack would not extort, from even the frailest of us, a supplicating accent to the whole body of them combined. What! a Cobbett; any one bearing *that name*, crouch down before the Greys, the Lambs, the Broughams, the Russells; or, O God! the Palmerstons, the Prosperity Robinsons, or God knows what!

LETTERS TO MR. COBBETT.

Morpeth, July 11, 1831.

SIR,

It is with great pleasure I herewith send you the under-mentioned resolutions, which were entered into at a meeting of your friends at the Grey Nag's Head Inn, in Morpeth, this day.

I have the honour to be

Your obedient servant,

ROBERT BLAKEY.

- 1st. That this meeting has long held in admiration the political, and other important and highly useful writings of Mr. Cobbett; his great devotedness to the true interests of his country; and particularly his unwearied exertions in the cause of Parliamentary Reform, when that question was notoriously disregarded by every public writer in England except himself.
- 2d. Feeling, as we do, these sentiments of approbation as to the great and meritorious public services of Mr. Cobbett, we could not view but with great abhorrence and disgust the infamous attempts of the late Whig prosecution to convict him of libel; and this abhorrence and disgust are greatly increased when we consider that this pretended libel contained not a single particle of libellous matter; but that the

motives for the prosecution arose from the wicked and malignant desire of official ignorance and imbecility to inflict some grievous bodily or pecuniary punishment upon Mr. Cobbett, with a view of silencing for ever, if possible, a pen which has never, in one single instance, been employed but in the cause of truth and justice, and for the promoting of the very best interests of his countrymen.

3d. We cannot, therefore, look upon the struggle which Mr. Cobbett has so successfully and ably maintained against the real enemies of a free press, without expressing our lively gratitude for this undaunted stand he has made against those who dread, and not without just reason, the full and free expression of public opinion; and we feel confident that the people of England have in Mr. Cobbett an advocate whose talents are of the loftiest description, whose disinterested patriotism is of the most devoted kind, and whose public integrity and honour are far above the reach of sordid ambition, or the blandishments of public corruption.

4th. That the Chairman, Mr. Robert Blakey, be requested to sign and transmit these resolutions to Mr. Cobbett without delay.

ROBERT BLAKEY, Chairman.

To William Cobbett, Esq.

Portsea, 12th July, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,

GOD ALMIGHTY be praised for] the victory that you have obtained over your foul and very wicked enemies! Your disciples do in truth rejoice; those of them who reside here rejoice, and not any one of them more than myself, who, as your trial was approaching, as fervently prayed for your acquittal as ever I prayed for the salvation of my soul. Let us, the delivered, and those who longed for his deliverance, be united in our thanks-

givings, and let us be sincere in them, to the Author of all Good, who, in this instance, has showed us, as he has said, "the deliverer of the oppressed," that he is so in truth. The best account that I have read of your trial, (and I have read several) is in the "bloody *Old Times*." How I admire your subpoenaing the Ministers!! What must they not have felt!! And how queerly your old friend Brougham must have felt in his situation!! And what must the judge have felt, when the "Labourer" instructed him!!!! But I must stop short, for I greatly admire the whole of your defence.

Now, Sir, I cannot see why you should not, and that without delay, "*begin your lecturings, where you left off*." I, for myself, will excuse you as long from coming to Portsmouth as the *Stepping-stone to your Grammar* may really want your attendance, so that when it shall be sent into the world, it may be the best of the best of such things. But many of your friends will not make such an allowance, and I assure you that such have a bill against you, which they will not consider as discharged until your promise be fulfilled, and that to the very letter. I coincide with them, except as above stated.

I want my friends to see the man that I have seen, to hear the man that I have heard, and to converse with the man that I have conversed with, that they may judge of him for themselves. Your recent victory, as "*Bell's Life*" truly says, is no small triumph to us.

I am, &c.

To William Cobbett, Esq.

ON THE PROSECUTION.

(From the Examiner of Sunday last.)

"As we predicted, the effect of the prosecution of Cobbett is likely to settle the policy of Ministers with respect to the liberty of the press. They have

caught their Tartar, and he is victorious and free again. *The affair has been, in fact, a trial of Government more than of Cobbett, and it has been defeated—defeated in the darling object of vengeance. Extraordinary efforts were not wanting to procure a conviction, but they failed.* The jury, after all, were divided, and as they could not agree, the defendant was discharged. We have much to say on this Whig enterprise, which the pressure of political matter for the present precludes; but we shall find opportunity to return to the subject. *Of this we are certain, that had the prosecution of Mr. Cobbett succeeded, it would have been but a beginning of the persecution of the press.*

Mr. Holt, who has written a book maintaining the very worst doctrines on libel, has just been raised to the rank of a King's Counsel. The circumstance is significant in connexion with other events.

"Sir Thomas Denman, Whig Attorney General the Second, in answer to the remark of Mr. Cobbett, that there is a distinction to be taken between the tendency and intention of writings, said 'that if he (Cobbett) was not only a labourer, but a lunatic, or an idiot, he must know the plain meaning of words, and that where the tendency was manifest, the intention was a matter to be inferred.'

"Now let us try the truth of this doctrine so insolently broached, by application to a recent instance.

"The tendency of the clause respecting half-yearly rents in the Reform Bill, was manifestly to disfranchise an immense majority of the tenantry of England; and will Sir Thomas Denman, therefore, cover his Ministry with the infamy of the intention? The tendency was intimated, and the clause was not corrected; but yet Sir Thomas would call it libel on the Government, to argue that the intention was to be inferred from a tendency so manifest, and to the mischief of which attention had thus been invited. Is there to be no allowance for the ignorance of any men but Ministers? are no others to be charitably presumed involved in self-conceit

past penetration? Mr. Cobbett was not allowed to plead, 'The effect was suggested to me, but it did not make the due impression on my mind.'

ON THE PROSECUTION.

(From the Standard of Saturday last.)

I INSERT the following, to give my readers a hearty laugh. W. C.

"The manner in which Mr. Cobbett's trial has terminated furnishes a fertile topic of discussion amongst our contemporaries. We beg leave 'to roll our tub' in the general bustle.

"In the particular case it is necessary to divest our minds of the most tenacious prejudices, for antipathies are much more adhesive than predilections; and, as Tories, we have the strongest possible reason to dislike Mr. Cobbett. We believe him to be the real author of very nearly every great calamity of our time. That the ingenious, but wholly groundless reasoning of his *Paper against Gold*, produced that panic amongst statesmen to which we owe the scourge of the Currency Bill of 1819, seems scarcely questionable; that Mr. Cobbett was truly the efficient incendiary in producing the Queen Caroline sedition, seems to have been made out by sufficiently direct proof, that the series of falsehoods and slanders published under the name of the *Protestant Reformation*, furnished the whole armoury of sophistry by which the Popish Association excited themselves and their countrymen to that determined aggression before which this Protestant nation was compelled to give way, is indeed confessed by a vote of the Popish Association itself. Last of all, the Reform mania, which now 'frightens the isle from its propriety,' is indisputably the work of Mr. Cobbett, and, we had almost said, of him alone.

"Let the reader who doubts this, compare the number of years during

which Mr. Cobbett has urged his pernicious doctrines, the constant assiduity with which he has inculcated his pestilent opinions, and his undoubtedly great abilities, with the term of labour, the degree of zeal, and the talents of any of his competitors, and such reader must conclude with us, that the Reform, whatever shape it take, will be, in the first instance, a reform *made by Mr. Cobbett*—in the end, a reform modelled after his will. We know that we shall be exposed to the censure of friends, and to the ridicule of opponents, for ascribing so much to the power of a person who is scarcely popular with any party. Our opinion, however, is drawn from sufficient premises: to name one of which is perhaps enough. We have been necessarily readers of all newspapers, and of all the speeches in Parliament, and pretty well of all the political pamphlets of the last twelve years, and we have always found Mr. Cobbett *the author* of every project advanced against the church and the aristocracy, and the author also of every feasible argument employed in support of such project. The speeches of Lord Grey, Lord Brougham, Lord Durham, Sir James Graham, Mr. Thomas Macaulay, &c. &c. &c. have been years ago embodied—as types in the Swedenborgian heaven—in the pages of Mr. Cobbett's *Register*. The *Times* has not a thought that is not stolen from Mr. Cobbett's mint, and other more respectable journals are, we are aware, as deeply indebted to the same instructor, though they do not repay the loan with such base ingratitude. That Mr. Cobbett is not popular with any considerable party in the country is no argument against the extent to which the influence of his writings has prevailed. We of the Tory party hate him as our most formidable enemy; and the Whigs and Radicals stand to him in a relation as little favourable to the existence of friendship. *They owe too much to acknowledge their obligation.*

“From what we have premised, it will be easily understood, that much as we dislike Mr. Cobbett, we are not sorry for the manner in which his trial

has terminated. Such is in truth the fact; but we rejoice on more grounds than one. Generally, we wish for the defeat of all prosecutions for political writing, except where *the intention* to promote the commission of crimes is clearly brought home to the prisoner; whereas, in Mr. Cobbett's case, such ‘intention’ was *not even charged in the indictment*, a legal construction of *tendency* being substituted for it. Secondly, there seemed to be something offensively anomalous in charging observations upon a crime committed, and upon the fate of a criminal executed for that crime, as tending to promote the perpetration of the crime in question, or its imitation in a system which had notoriously expired *before the alleged libel was written*. These are considerations which would have caused us to rejoice at the escape of any one placed in Mr. Cobbett's situation, but we confess that these considerations are light compared with the grounds of exultation which we find, in the relation of the parties. Here was Mr. Cobbett prosecuted for *sedition*,—by whom? By the Attorney General Denman, now the King's Attorney General, once Queen Caroline's Solicitor; by one who, not for the purpose of acquitting his unhappy client upon legal or moral grounds, as Lord Brougham confessed, but to provide for her an escape through a public confusion—by one who, to excite this anarchy, branded the late King as a parallel to the most odious tyrant of antiquity, and described his present royal Master as a mean slanderer, in words which we certainly shall not repeat. Such was the ostensible prosecutor of Mr. Cobbett; and who ordered the prosecution? A Cabinet in which might be found the friends and compurgators of Despard and O'Connor, the patrons of Shiel, the clients of Burdett and O'Connell—must we say more? *the writers in the Times.*

“And what was the ground of charge? That Mr. Cobbett had written something tending to impress upon the labouring peasantry a notion that they would obtain—not a ‘darling bill,’ by committing murder with brickbats and

paving-stones, but bread by rick-burning. Such were the circumstances under which Mr. Cobbett was prosecuted by the present Ministers—a master by his pupils—an incendiary perhaps, but surely by greater incendiaries, if he is one—for a piece of advice, criminal, had it been brought home to him, but not half so criminal as that daily poured forth in their own journals. Why, a conviction upon such a prosecution would give a shock to the moral sense of the country which no political advantages could compensate. Happily no such shock has been given. On the other hand, the colossus *humbug* which supports the whole Domdaniel of fraud—to borrow the beautiful allegory of Mr. Southey's 'Thalaba;' the colossus *humbug* which supports the firmament between the seditionist *in place or in Parliament*, and the seditionist abroad, has received a mortal stab in the escape of Mr. Cobbett.

LECTURING.

I DID not want the pressing application contained in the letter from Portsea, to make me resolve to set off to "take up my ground where I left off," as we labourers call it. I left off at Lewes. The next swarth was to be Chichester, the next Portsea, then to the Isle of Wight, and back to Gosport, Southampton, Salisbury, then to Newbury, Reading, and home before I set off to the North by the way of Bedford, and so on. I shall go from here to Chichester by the way of Horsham; but I shall not stop at Horsham, unless some friend there provide me a place (a barn will do very well), and let me know that he has done it before Sunday the 24th of this month of July. I have done my *Spelling-Book* and *Stepping-Stone to English Grammar*; and I shall have sowed the white turnips for my ewes, and have transplanted my swedes and mangel-wurzel, by about the 25th or 26th of this month; and, wind and weather permitting, off I go on or about the 31st of the month. During my last

trip my expenditure somewhat exceeded my receipts, which is a sort of carrying on that cannot last. I must, therefore, now make the price of admission something more; and giving out, as I shall, a pamphlet gratis to every auditor, I think I shall make the price of admission sixpence. As to the subject of my Lectures, the main intention, when I lectured before, was to rouse the people to petition for a reform of the House of Commons. That object is now accomplished, if the Lords do not resist, which I trust in God they will not; and therefore my main object now will be to inculcate the choosing of *proper men* to be the representatives in the new Parliament; to offer to my hearers my opinions with regard to the measures that ought to be adopted to save the country from confusion; and to suggest to them the specific pledges which they ought to exact from the men that they choose. These will be the chief topics of my Lectures; and spies, informers, tax-eaters, tithe-eaters, and the whole swarm of my and my country's enemies I set at defiance. I set also at defiance the bloody old *Times* and its base prompters. My anxious desire is, as it always has been, to preserve this frame of Government, under which the name of England was so honoured throughout the world, and under which our forefathers were so happy and so free; and in order to preserve it, I wish extensively to circulate a knowledge of the means by which it may be rendered less burdensome to the people.

I have another object in this tour, in the southern and western counties especially; and that is, to see my corn flourishing in the gardens of the labourers; and to see every plant (having by the time I get to see it) the tassel at its height, with the bloom hanging on it; to see every plant giving the lie to the LIAR, who, under his frank arising from "privilege of Parliament," has circulated in all the counties, that this corn is a fraud, though the fool knew he was writing to men each of whom had a bag of corn ripened last year, sent gratis, and even carriage paid.

I think, at present, that I shall be at

Horsham on Monday, the 1st of August, at Chichester the next day, at Portsea the day after, and then to the Isle of Wight; but I cannot fix positively at present. I think I shall be able to fix positively in my next *Register*, which will be published on the 23d of this month.

STURGES BOURNE'S BILLS.

FROM the first of my hearing of these bills, which was while I was in Long Island, I predicted, that if not repealed in time, they would produce confusion in England. They were the main cause of the riots and the fires of last fall and winter. Every-where we heard the labourers complain of the hired overseers. In many cases they committed acts of violence upon their persons; in one case, one of these hirelings was shot at through a window in Surrey, while he was lying in his bed in a lower room. In all cases where they had the power, the labourers demanded the dismissal of these hirelings; and they every-where accused them of being the cause of their sufferings. I mentioned at the trial, the other day, the cutting off of the long hair of young women, the recital of which made every soul in the court, but two or three, swell with indignation. This act was committed by one of those hirelings who were invented and created by Sturges Bourne's bill. There is no accounting for tastes, but it is a real fact that this very Sturges Bourne was one of the Judges appointed to act in the *Special Commission* at Winchester, in December last. Now, before I go further, let me insert from the MORNING CHRONICLE of the 14th instant, a short paragraph, but extremely expressive. "*The approaching Harvest.*—Threats having been employed by some of the labourers in the neighbourhood of Boston, of what they would do if Irishmen are employed as reapers, the farmers are taking the precaution to insure their standing corn and stacks." Well, we

are come to something at last. Now, let me take from my TWO-PENNY TRASH, No. 8, published in February last, my five remedies for preventing the terrible acts here anticipated. I had been describing, in a letter to the King's Ministers, the possibility and the facility of committing acts of this sort; and I implored them to adopt effectual measures of prevention. The means of prevention recommended by me were as follows:—

"1. To issue a proclamation pardoning all the offenders of every description, whether tried or not, upon their entering into sureties to keep the peace for a year, and bringing back those who have already been sent away, and including them in the pardon on like terms. Oh! Gentlemen, think of the joy, think of the happiness with which you would thus fill all the bosoms in all the villages in these beautiful counties! And think of the gratitude with which you would fill those bosoms towards yourselves; and above all things think of the blessings which, coming from the hearts of fathers and mothers and children and brothers and sisters, you would bring down upon the head of your royal master!

"2. To repeal Sturges Bourne's two bills, and thereby restore to the ratepayers their rights, restore the power of the native overseers, and restore to the justices of the peace their former power of ordering relief, without which the indigent poor can have no sure protection.

"3. To pass an act, making it a misdemeanour punishable with heavy fine and imprisonment, for any overseer or other person in parochial authority to subject the indigent poor to work like beasts of burden, to put them up at auction, or otherwise wantonly to degrade them, taking as the preamble of the bill that text of holy writ which says, 'Oppress not the poor because he is poor.'

"4. To repeal all the Acts which have been passed relative to the game

“ since the late King George the Third
 “ mounted the throne, and particularly
 “ that Act which punishes poaching
 “ with transportation, which Act has
 “ filled the county jails with prisoners,
 “ which has trebled the county rates,
 “ which has thrown a burden on all the
 “ people in order to preserve the sports
 “ of the rich, which has filled the
 “ breasts of all the villagers of Eng-
 “ land with vindictive feelings;
 “ which has been the cause of
 “ endless affrays between poachers and
 “ keepers, and which, in conjunc-
 “ tion with Ellenborough's Act, has
 “ brought scores of men to the gallows.

“ 5. To pass an Act to repeal and
 “ utterly abolish Ellenborough's Act,
 “ which, by making it a capital felony
 “ to strike a man with a heavy instru-
 “ ment without killing him, or to use
 “ deadly weapons in your own defence
 “ against a game-keeper, though with-
 “ out killing him, puts the striker in
 “ the one case, and the defender in the
 “ other, upon a level with the wilful,
 “ premeditating, cool, and cruel mur-
 “ derer, tends to confound all notions
 “ of discrimination in crime, tends to
 “ harden men's hearts, and weaken
 “ in them every sense of justice and
 “ humanity.”

Now observe, the proposition No. 2
 relates to Sturges Bourne's Bills. No.
 3, to the wantonly degrading the poor
 and necessitous people. No. 4 relates
 to the Act which authorises the justices
 to transport men for poaching. These
 means were suggested by me on the
 1st of February last. There is already
 since that time, a bill before the House
 of Commons to abolish *transportation*
for poaching; and, which is of far
 greater consequence, there is now a
 bill brought into the House of Lords
 in the present Parliament **TO ABO-**
LISH STURGES BOURNE'S BILLS,
 as prayed for by me in proposition
 No. 2, and to inflict punishment on
 overseers, or other persons in parochial
 authority, to subject the indigent poor
 to work like beasts of burden, to put
 them up at auction or otherwise wan-
 tonly to degrade them; and, hear it,
 O Labourers of England! at the very

moment that these bills are lying upon
 the tables of the two Houses, the former
 brought into the House of Commons
 by the Ministers themselves, the latter
 brought into the House of Lords by a
 very ancient peer, these Ministers were
 prosecuting me, with every apparently
 desperate design, on a charge of in-
 citing the labourers to acts of violence
 against their employers!

But, to stifle my resentment, if I can,
 let me turn to something to applaud.
 Amongst other things that my bloody-
 minded enemies say of me, is, that I
 want to degrade, to pull down all
 dignity and destroy all rank. It has
 been useless for me to refer to the whole
 of my hundred volumes for a contradic-
 tion of the malignant lie; the lie has
 been repeated, and put in print by three
 hundred villains, while I had but one
 single pen to make head against them all.
 I have always contended that the House
 of Lords had frequently been our pro-
 tectors; and of late years I have quoted
 the two striking instances where their
 Lordships defeated the scandalous pro-
 ject for enclosing Waltham Chase,
 which would have turned out to beg-
 gary more than a thousand happy cot-
 tagers; and that other instance, wherein
 they put a stop to the nefarious bill,
 brought in by Warburton and passed
 by the Commons, to authorise the sale
 of the dead bodies of the poor. In both
 these cases the Lower Place passed the
 bill, in both these cases the Lords re-
 jected the bill. In the present case,
 greatly to their honour, a Peer has
 brought in a bill to repeal, in effect, the
 bills of Sturges Bourne; to cause the
 duty of overseer to be performed by the
 native overseer; and to punish by pe-
 cuniary penalty any overseer who shall
 order any persons receiving parish relief
 to work like beasts of burden, or other-
 wise wantonly to degrade such indigent
 person. It is disgraceful to reflect that
 such a law was become necessary; but
 Sturges Bourne's bills have rendered
 such a law necessary. It makes one
 shudder to look at the clause which the
 noble proposer has found it necessary to
 introduce into this bill in order to put
 an end to these inhuman practices; but

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it was become necessary in order to restore peace and safety to the country; and it shall be my particular care to point out to the labourers that they will owe this great good to the House of Lords. This is an act worthy of noblemen; and the noble proposer of the bill has not, like the vile, upstart loanmongers, half Jews, and blood-stained nabobs, been too proud to adopt suggestions because they have proceeded from me.

I have not had time to read this bill with care; but, it does these two things: it sweeps away Sturges Bourne's hired overseers, and it punishes any one who shall wantonly degrade any necessitous person receiving parish relief. It abolishes too, in practice, the hateful name of pauper, which I do not find in any part of the Bill. This is, indeed no more than justice; but justice is a good deal now-a-days where the poor are concerned. There would soon have been no choice other than that of a bill of this sort or general insurrection; but we shall have the bill, and I am singularly pleased that it has originated with the Lords.

This bill, as far as relates to the immediate peace and quiet of the country; aye, and as far as relates to the safety of the aristocratical order, is of much greater importance than the Reform Bill itself. The Reform Bill would have brought this bill to be sure; but *it would not have brought it soon enough*. It would have come, too, from the people themselves; and it is much better that it should come from the Lords as their own act and deed. People who live in towns are not at all aware of the effects of a measure like this. Parliamentary Reform is a measure of large trunk and spreading branches. Few minds are capable of being impressed with all its bearings; but here is a measure that affects every human being in every village and hamlet in the kingdom. The whole of the people feel it at once as one man: it talks of their daily bread; and this Bill, whenever it become a law and before it become a law, will ring through every country parish in the kingdom, as *something that the Lords have done in*

behalf of the labourers; and I do sincerely hope that it is the first step in the way back to that happy state of things, when the labouring people looked upon noblemen and gentlemen as their protectors, and not as their destroyers.

FRANCE.

Paris, 10th July, 1831.

MY DEAR FATHER,

I SEND you a translation of two letters of General Bertrand, who has been elected deputy of Chateauroux. I have thought these letters might be useful to you, and they are the more remarkable, as none of the Journals, with the single exception of *La Revolution*, I believe, have published them. I think the people of England must be curious to hear the opinions of General Bertrand, and if they read them they cannot, I think, be disappointed. Besides speaking the truth about the present state of things, defending the bloody revolution and the republic, by pointing out the true causes of all the horrors, he shows how sublimely ignorant Frenchmen, the best informed about their own country, are about that which is their neighbour. How should it be otherwise, when people of education in France generally adopt the writings of Montesquieu and Delolme, as conveying the correct idea of the English system? They should remark the preface to the second edition of the latter, in which he says that he had then discovered that he *knew nothing of England!* The English borough-mongers had, by this time, showed him the contempt they had for his simplicity and subserviency, in not recompensing him for his work.

The *Register* of July 2nd states *the hour at which your trial is to begin, but not the day*; but I see, by a paragraph from *The Observer*, that it is to be *to-morrow*. If the special jury, of which you see General Bertrand knows nothing, find the verdict against you,

you must be sentenced in November, I believe. Thus the Whigs intend to keep you out of the first session of their reformed Parliament, if they possibly can. You say, they must have white blood not to blush: but, must not the anticipation of what they have to go through in that first session, freeze their blood, red or white? They are like the old French nobility, after they had, in a sitting of the whole night (Aug. 4th, 1789), given up their privileges, and repented when it was too late.

WM. COBBETT, JUN.

GENERAL BERTRAND

TO

THE ELECTORS OF CHATEAUROUX.

LETTER I.

Paris, 11th June, 1831.

GENTLEMEN,

SOME amongst you having thought of honouring me with their suffrages at the approaching election, have inquired of my relations what might be my opinions upon the hereditability of a deliberating chamber. I do not hesitate to state to you, that inheritances of this sort are, to my understanding, as contrary to the ancient customs of France as they are opposed to the spirit of her modern institutions. It is, above all, indispensable to cause for ever to disappear the existing Chamber called "of Peers;" a wretched importation, without any reason solidly justifying it in the eyes of any one who recollects the COUNCIL OF ELDERS (*Conseil des Anciens*); a wretched importation, I say, made by a Government which was the result of foreign invasion and of national misfortune: not but that this Chamber may contain many men of experience, of talent, and of probity; and though we be indebted to it for the only really good law which has been made for ten months, the abolition of the law called "of sacrilege," without speaking of the other real services which it had previously rendered: yet, alike with royalty and with the other Chamber, it ought to derive its origin from the sovereignty of the people only. Our

independence and a just national pride require it to be thus.

In expressing myself with this veracity, gentlemen, I believe I am conforming with the incontestable principles of representative Government. In England, at all times, has it not been the practice for candidates, even when Ministers, to express themselves publicly, upon the hustings, as to every species of question? Recollect, gentlemen, what was the case in the United States during the first years of their independence: the Anglo-Americans spontaneously determined not to communicate with each other by missives, sealed: "Take that back," said the citizen to whom any one presented a letter which was sealed; "I receive no packet which does not come open." This was the usage for seven years; and such was the way of thinking of men truly worthy of liberty, that each of them desired that all his countrymen should know what were his political opinions: and, amongst the Americans, there was but a solitary traitor to the national cause. Let the electors of France choose, then, out of the men who are eligible, and whose sentiments and whose past lives are perfectly known to them, people of integrity and of honour: they will then have no doubt about the future.

The question of hereditability of the peerage, and some other questions which have been agitated of late years, prove sufficiently the general opinion that there can be no safety in France without the establishment of public liberties, and without a severe economy of the public money. But I do not fear to say, gentlemen, we lose sight of the most important question, a question which should predominate over all others, and without considering which it is impossible to reason effectively upon the means of establishing, in modern times, and amongst a people not debased, any Government which shall be stable: **THE INDEFINITE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.** This is the foundation of all other liberties; it is their palladium. It was the liberty possessed by the English people, to

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print, post up, and circulate, according to the will of every one, which ensured the success of the revolution of 1688, and which has caused this island to resist all the vices of her old aristocracy. It is the liberty of the press which has so firmly secured the independence of the United States, that vast country where there are, it is said, nearly two thousand journals, being as many as there are villages. Can any one say, without blushing with shame, that there is liberty of the press in France, when we have privileges of printers, privileges for lithography, privileges of journals, privileges of bill-stickers, privileges of hawkers, and even censorship of images and of transparencies; and, moreover, restriction against hawking and bill-sticking, without the permission of what is so improperly and even shamefully called "AUTHORITY?" What will have been the use of the glorious days of July, if a Government of privileges be preserved?

Those who attribute to the liberty of the press the calamities which attended the revolution, certainly know nothing of the facts, such as they really were, in the first years after that great event, from which we are now removed forty years. The cause of those calamities was any other than that which is given out to the present generation.

In order to establish terror, the provocators to anarchy were indispensably obliged to commence by destroying the liberty of the press, and it was what they did. As soon as several printing-offices had been ransacked or broken into, the enlightened part of the public, which certainly was a large part, foresaw that a horrible tyranny was approaching with great strides. But a few years afterwards, under the Executive Directory, the press was completely free, and there were in Paris, in the year IV. (see Letter 2), a hundred and twenty-three daily papers, all free; and, subsequently, there may have been more. People might print, stick bills, and hawk in all places and at all times, and no one ever found any inconvenience result from it. It had been the same during the time of the Constitu-

ent Assembly, until the Federation: for it was at this brilliant epoch that two or three printing-offices began to be persecuted, and some printers suborned by persons of a supereminent spye-system.

To think, speak, and publish, is a natural right of man. There is both tyranny and danger in putting impediments before the expression and communication of that which is the most noble and most divine in man, thought. Without doubt, there is no liberty which may not be continually neighbouring upon licentiousness. Such is the human condition, the supreme law, in this vast universe, of the sovereign Dispenser of all things. To use and abuse is the right of every one, and it is the lot of every one to suffer this right. For the legislator it is to punish, and not to prevent, the errors of the press or of the tongue. The law and the conscience of a jury are ready to pronounce and to be severe, if there be occasion. But can genius support fetters, and abase itself to the acceptance of permissions to which it is restricted by a Government weak or able! No, gentlemen, genius will be free, or it will be nothing.

Some persons persuade themselves that our Government would experience great obstacles from the liberty of the press. It would be precisely the contrary. A Government with honesty belonging to it need have no fear of the liberty of the press, but would receive from it the most solid support. More than one man of talent, now condemned to silence, would come to its aid. Talent is always ready, and never refuses its aid to its country, and without doubt would second a Government, the object of which is to watch over the interests of that country, to maintain its independence, its glory and its prosperity. Ten lines dictated with judgment, or perhaps by a superior mind, if necessary, posted, hawked about, printed here or there, would clear up, would settle a question. But it is indispensable that it should be freely, without any want of permission, without any obstacle whatever, that any one may write these lines, cause them to be

printed, or print them himself, publish them and distribute them, wherever and whenever he pleases, under all circumstances. Then we should have the liberty of the press, and we should have all its advantages. The government would find, upon all difficult affairs which might present themselves, wise counsel, luminous explanations, and support. Then it would be really strong, for it would have the plain dealing, the learning, the power of talent, the opinion of the public, in a word, all the elements which constitute the strength of political power. Such we have often seen the English Government.

But we, now-a-days, have only the inconveniences of the oppression under which the manifestation of thought lies. The distress which we feel arises from this. Our government perceives no other remedy to the attacks of the journals than a prosecution. Wretched resource! Thus we see that in fifteen days there are more prosecutions against the press in France than there are in fifteen years either in England or in America. Why is this? It is because in those countries the press is free. And, with the same system, which it is so important to adopt in France, prosecutions would become rare; for they would be unnecessary.

We want laws, not against the liberty of the press, for there are too many, and, rather, the whole of the laws relating to printing should be abolished: but we want laws against every man, whether in private life, a Minister, or whatever he be, who shall attempt to attack the liberty of the press such as I speak of. Our greatest want is to demolish tyranny.

With the liberty of the press without any imaginable restriction, such as it exists in England and in the United States, even if the double vote were maintained, France would not be badly governed any more than England, which, during a hundred and fifty years has escaped every storm, notwithstanding her rotten boroughs. Unlimited liberty to the circulation of thought: every question is included in

that: with that, every-thing; without it, nothing. If we had had real liberty of the press, our Government would now be endowed with great power; and it is weaker than in August, both within and without. Such is, at least, the opinion of a great many sincere friends of the Government, who reflect, observe, and say nothing.

In addressing you this letter, gentlemen, I have less desired to obtain the honour of your choice, than to place before you some ideas to do which I have thought would be useful at this time. There are so many others amongst you who have attended to legislation and to public affairs, that you will easily find a person more capable than me to represent you in the new Chamber. However, if you do honour me with your suffrages, I shall endeavour to render myself worthy of them in the circumstances now so difficult in which France is placed, and which may become so serious: but if you choose another, I shall rejoice with you, like the Lacedemonian who felicitated himself that the republic had found three hundred citizens more worthy than him to deliberate upon the affairs of his country.

Let the electors of France, then, not forget to choose their deputies from amongst these men who, in all questions where their private interests shall be balanced against those of the state, will be constantly ready to decide for that which shall be most useful to the nation. That is the touch-stone, the crucible in which every public man must purify himself. We shall then have a Chamber, and perhaps two, which will answer our wishes and our wants. The Constituent Assembly was not only the most enlightened assembly that had yet appeared in Europe; it was proclaimed, in the British Parliament, the most disinterested, by an eloquent voice which never ceased to defend in it liberty and the French revolution.

Accept, Gentlemen, the expression of the sentiments of my patriotic consideration.

BERTRAND.

LETTER II.

Paris, 4th July, 1831.

GENTLEMEN,—Some folks who make it their business to put forth *sophisms*, according to many readers, but, in my mind, perhaps merely *paralogisms*, have tried to refute the dispatch I have addressed you in print. These doctors, who call themselves royalists, without saying for whom or for why, dare to affirm at a venture that I took in 1814 an oath to Louis XVIII., which is wholly untrue. They add to this accusation, to which, however, I should attach no importance were it founded, that I have given you advice upon the mode of securing "*the welfare of France*." Certainly I should take care how I held such language, which is entirely at variance with all that I have ever learned. History has too well proved that the "public welfare" has ever been in all times only a pretext for tyrants, royal, popular, or other. "THE WELFARE!" Was it not to secure "*the welfare of our country*" that Charles X. wanted to bring back feudality, and that, thirty-six years before him, the harranguers of the district of the Cordeliers and others, demanded the division of property, sometimes even the possession of wives and children in common, and caused the sword of terror to stalk abroad? It may be that it is the ignorance of my refuters which allows them to persuade themselves that the welfare of the people ought to be the object of the legislator. If they were sincere they would correct themselves after having read me; but I attach very little importance to their conversion.

The duty of every constitutional Government, Gentlemen, is, particularly, to see to the exterior defence of the state, and to maintain to all the exercise of their natural, civil, and political rights, their safety, and the enjoyment of their private property: leaving to every inhabitant, citizen, stranger or other, the care of his own welfare and that of his family.

I should observe, Gentlemen, that a transposition of figures escaped uncorrected in the printing of my circular. It was in the year VI. and not in the

year IV. of the republic, that a hundred and twenty-three daily papers were counted in Paris. Further, I neither praised nor blamed the Directory, Gentlemen, as you know, notwithstanding what is said by the paralogists or sophists, who attack me without any pretext: for they say not a word about the two only things of which I have spoken: the unlimited liberty of the press, which I demand, and the hereditability of the peerage, which I reject.

In carrying back our recollection to the different eras of our revolution, we ought not to neglect the two millions of pounds sterling that the famous Pitt solicited and obtained from his Parliament for secret services in foreign countries? that is to say, in France. We shall easily understand the misfortunes which befel us, when we recollect the perfidious and continued opposition of the court of Louis XVI.; when we recollect the machinations of the incorrigible partizans of fifty-two thousand and eighty-nine individuals, afterwards erased from the list of emigrants, by a decree of the Consuls, in the twenty-eighth of Vendemaire in the year IX. (19 September, 1800); and when we recollect the fifty millions of francs of the Minister Pitt, besides the other enormous sums placed at his disposal on divers occasions, to stir up commotion in our country, and, finally, the odiously Machiavelic intrigues of the foreign Cabinets.

At the epoch of the European combination directed in the year V. (1798-9) against the republic of France, a combination of which the Emperor of Germany impatiently awaited the issue which hindered him from concluding the peace which he signed at last, after the eighteenth of Crumaire (11th of October, 1799). At this epoch the French government got rid of the conspirators of Paris in whatever way they could, whether they were writers or others. Amongst the number I willingly believe there were Frenchmen who were less the agents than the dupes of the true conspirators. Apparently, the Directory, with more capacity, might have done other things

than it did. But, at any rate, it saved France from counter-revolution and foreign invasion. My refuters are sorry for it, which to me is matter of little moment.

Whoever would reflect with sincerity upon the events of the French revolution, ought never to leave out of his consideration, that this revolution was continually under the stroke of the most terrible conspiracy, both within and without, that history knows any-thing of. It is to this cause especially that must be attributed the calamities which were brought upon a generous people, who were determined to have liberty notwithstanding the obstinate opposition of all aristocracy, feudal or other.

I conclude this second and last letter in praying you, Gentlemen, not to forget that the unlimited liberty of the press is the sole means of causing to terminate a revolution which has shaken us for forty-two years, of ensuring public liberty, and of rendering firm the constitutional throne which has emanated from the barricades.

Accept, Gentlemen, the renewed expression of my sentiments of ever-patriotic consideration.

BERTRAND.

REFORM BILL.

It is useless to insert this Bill until it be passed, and the chafferings about it in the House are of little more consequence to us than is the ceaseless nightly din that the monotonous Kiddadids are now making in the woods of America. It is curious that these noisy things also begin their noise at sunset and cease it at sunrise; and so true are they as to this matter, that, in the most cloudy weather, you can tell the very moment of the sun setting by the beginning of their noise, and the very moment of the sun rising by the ceasing of their noise. It is a large, beautifully green grasshopper, an inch and a half high and two inches and a half long, and it makes its noise with the two ears or flaps hanging down by

the sides of its head. It is perfectly harmless, lives upon the dews and the sweet that it gets from the leaves of the trees. Oh! how often have I wished that we, in England, were blessed with a set of Kiddadids! Their noise is perfectly monotonous; and you go to sleep amidst it, after a very little use, just the same as if there were no noise at all. The Kiddadid is no gormandiser and guzzler; it never yawns and snores and coughs and sneezes and belches enough to poison you: it is cleanly in its person, and in a dress always fit to be seen. Yes, often have I regretted that we had not a set of Kiddadids in England.

As some of my readers may wish to see, as soon as possible, what places are to be disfranchised, and what others are to have Members which had them not before; and, in short, how the Members are to be distributed, I here insert the beginning of the bill and the schedules as follows.

WHEREAS it is expedient to take effectual measures for correcting divers abuses that have long prevailed in the choice of members to serve in the Commons House of Parliament, to deprive many inconsiderable places of the right of returning members, to grant such privilege to large, populous and wealthy towns, to increase the number of knights of the shire, to extend the elective franchise to many of his Majesty's subjects who have not heretofore enjoyed the same, and to diminish the expense of elections; Be it therefore enacted, by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That each of the boroughs enumerated in Schedule (A.) to this Act annexed, shall cease, after the end of this present Parliament, to return any member or members to serve in Parliament.

And be it enacted, That each of the boroughs enumerated in Schedule (B.) to this act annexed, shall, after the end

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of this present Parliament, return *one* member and no more to serve in Parliament.

And be it enacted, That each of the principal places named in the first column of the Schedule (C.) to this act annexed shall for the purposes of this act be a borough, and shall as such borough include several parishes, townships and places mentioned in conjunction therewith and named in the second column of the said Schedule (C.), and that each of the said boroughs shall after the end of this present Parliament return *two* members to serve in Parliament; and that each of the principal places named in the first column of Schedule (D.) to this act annexed shall for the purposes of this act be a borough, and shall as such borough include the several parishes, townships, and places mentioned in conjunction therewith and named in the second column of the said Schedule (D.), and that each of the said last-mentioned boroughs shall after the end of this present Parliament return *one* member to serve in Parliament.

And be it enacted, That the towns of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis shall for the purposes of this act be taken as one borough, and that such borough shall after the end of this present Parliament return *two* members, and no more, to serve in Parliament.

And be it enacted, That every city and borough named in the first column of the Schedule (E.) to this act annexed shall for the purposes of this act include the several places mentioned in conjunction therewith respectively and named in the second column of the said Schedule (E.) and shall jointly with such places, after the end of this present Parliament, return *two* members to serve in Parliament.

And be it enacted, That after the end of this present Parliament, each of the places named in the first column of the Schedule (F.) to this act annexed shall have a share in the election of a member to serve in Parliament, for the shire-town or borough mentioned in conjunction therewith and named in the second column of the said Schedule (F.)

And be it enacted, That the towns of

Swansea, Lougher, Neath, Aberayen, and Ken Fig, shall for the purposes of this act be taken as one borough, and that such borough shall, after the end of this present Parliament, return *one* member to serve in Parliament; and that the portreeve of Swansea shall be the returning officer for the said borough; and no person by reason of any right accruing to any of the said five towns shall have any vote in the election of a member for the borough of Cardiff.

And be it enacted, That the persons respectively described in the third column of the said Schedules (C.) and (D.) shall after the end of this present Parliament be the returning officers at all elections of a member or members to serve in Parliament for the boroughs in conjunction with which such persons are respectively mentioned in the said Schedules (C.) and (D.); and that for those boroughs for which no persons are mentioned in such column as returning officers, the sheriff for the time being of the county in which such boroughs are respectively situate shall, within *two months* after the passing of this act, and in every succeeding respective year in the *first* week in *March*, by writing under his hand, nominate and appoint for each of such boroughs a fit person to be the returning officer for each of such boroughs respectively, until the nomination to be made in the succeeding March; and in the event of the death of any such person, the sheriff for the time being shall forthwith nominate and appoint a successor to be the returning officer for the remainder of the then current year: Provided always, That no churchwarden or overseer of the poor shall be nominated or appointed as such returning officer, and that no person so nominated and appointed as returning officer shall be appointed a churchwarden or overseer of the poor during the year for which he shall be such returning officer, or shall be eligible to serve in Parliament for *one* year from the expiration of his office as such returning officer for the borough for which he shall have been so appointed returning officer.

And be it enacted, That in all future Parliaments there shall be *six* knights of the shire, instead of *four*, to serve for the county of York, that is to say, *two* knights for each of the three ridings of the said county, to be elected in the same manner, and by the same classes and descriptions of voters, and in respect of the same several rights of voting, as if each of the three ridings were a separate county.

And be it enacted, that in all future parliaments there shall be *four* knights of the shire, instead of *two*, to serve for the county of Lincoln, that is to say, *two* for the parts of Lindsey in the said county, and *two* for the parts of Kesteven and Holland in the same county; and that such *four* knights shall be chosen in the same manner, and by the same classes and descriptions of voters, and in respect of the same several rights of voting, as if the said parts of Lindsey were a separate county, and the said parts of Kesteven and Holland together were also a separate county.

And be it enacted, that each of the counties enumerated in Schedule (G.) to this act annexed shall be divided into *two* divisions in manner hereinafter directed, and that in all future Parliaments there shall be *four* knights of the shire, instead of *two*, to serve for each of the said counties, that is to say, *two* knights for each division of the said counties; and that such knights shall be chosen in the same manner and by the same classes and descriptions of voters, and in respect of the same several rights of voting, as if each of the said divisions were a separate county.

And be it enacted, That any person claiming and having the right to vote, after the end of this present Parliament, for a knight or knights of the shire to serve in Parliament, for the county of York, or for the county of Lincoln, or for any one of the counties so to be divided as aforesaid, shall vote only for a knight or knights for that riding of the county of York, those parts of the county of Lincoln, or that division of the county so to be divided, in which

the property in respect of which he claims to vote shall be situate.

And be it enacted, That in all future Parliaments there shall be *three* knights of the shire, instead of *two*, to serve for each of the following counties, that is to say, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Dorsetshire, Herefordshire, Hertfordshire and Oxfordshire; and *two* knights of the shire, instead of *one*, to serve for the county of Glamorgan.

And be it enacted, That from and after the end of this present Parliament, the Isle of Wight in the county of Southampton shall for the purposes of this act be a county of itself, separate and apart from the county of Southampton, and shall return *one* knight to serve in Parliament; and that such knight shall be chosen by the same classes and descriptions of voters, and in respect of the same several rights of voting, as any knight of the shire may then be chosen in any county in England; and that all elections for the said county of the Isle of Wight shall be holden at the town of Newport in the Isle of Wight, and the Sheriff of the Isle of Wight, or his deputy, shall be the returning officer at such elections: Provided always, that from and after the end of this present Parliament, no person shall vote in any election of a knight or knights of the shire for the county of Southampton, in respect of any lands or tenements within the Isle of Wight; and that no person shall be entitled to vote in the election of a knight to serve for the Isle of Wight, in respect of any house, warehouse or countinghouse, or of any land occupied together with a house, warehouse or countinghouse, by reason of the occupation of which respectively he or any other person shall be entitled to vote in the election of a member for the said town of Newport.

And be it enacted, that for the purpose of electing a knight or knights of the shire to serve in any future Parliament, the East Riding of the county of York, the North Riding of the county of York, and the several counties enumerated in the second column of the

Schedule (H.) to this act annexed, shall respectively include the several cities and Towns, being counties of themselves, mentioned in conjunction therewith, and named in the first column of the said Schedule (H.); and that for the like purpose the county of Gloucester shall include that part of Bristol which is situate on the Gloucestershire side of the River Avon, and the county of Somerset shall include that part of Bristol which is situate on the Somersetshire side of the said River Avon.

SCHEDULE (A.)

Fifty-seven Boroughs to be entirely Disfranchised.

Boroughs.	County.
Aldeburgh	Suffolk
Appleby	Westmoreland
Bedwin (Great)	Wilts
Berealston	Devonshire
Bishop's Castle	Salop
Blechingley	Surrey
Boroughbridge	Yorkshire
Bossiney	Cornwall
Brackley	Northampton
Bramber	Sussex
Callington	Cornwall
Camelford	Cornwall
Castle Rising	Norfolk
Corfe Castle	Dorsetshire
Downton	Wilts
Dunwich	Suffolk
Eye	Suffolk
Fowey	Cornwall
Gatton	Surrey
Haslemere	Surrey
Hedon	York
Heytesbury	Wilts
Higham Ferrers	Northampton
Hindon	Wilts
Ilchester	Somersetshire
East Looe	Cornwall
West Looe	Cornwall
Lostwithiel	Cornwall
Ludgershall	Wilts
Midhurst	Sussex
Milborne Port	Somersetshire
Minehead	Somersetshire
Newport	Cornwall
Newton	Lancashire
Newtown (Hants)	Isle of Wight
Orford	Suffolk
Petersfield	Hants

Plympton	Devonshire
Queenborough	Kent
Romney (New)	Kent
St. Germain's	Cornwall
St. Mawe's	Cornwall
St. Michael's or } Midshall }	Cornwall
Saltash	Cornwall
Old Sarum	Wilts
Seaford	Sussex
Steyning	Sussex
Stockbridge	Hants
Tregony	Cornwall
Wareham	Dorsetshire
Wendover	Bucks
Weobly	Herefordshire
Whitchurch	Hants
Winchelsea	Sussex
Woodstock	Oxfordshire
Wootton Bassett	Wilts
Yarmouth	Isle of Wight, Hants

SCHEDULE (B.)

Forty Boroughs to lose one Member each.

Boroughs.	County
Aldborough	York
Amersham	Bucks
Arundel	Sussex
Ashburton	Devon
Bodmin	Cornwall
Bridport	Dorsetshire
Buckingham	Buckinghamshire
Chippenham	Wiltshire
Clitheroe	Lancashire
Cockermouth	Cumberland
Dorchester	Dorsetshire
Droitwich	Worcestershire
Evesham	ditto
Grimsby, Great	Lincolnshire
Grimstead, East	Sussex
Guilford	Surrey
Helston	Cornwall
Honiton	Devonshire
Huntingdon	Huntingdonsire
Hythe	Kent
Launceston	Cornwall
Liskeard	ditto
Lyme Regis	Dorsetshire
Lymington	Hants
Maldon	Essex
Malmsbury	Wilts
Marlborough	ditto
Marlow, Great	Bucks
Okehampton	Devonshire
Reigate	Surrey

Richmond	York
Rye	Sussex
St. Ives	Cornwall
Shaftesbury	Dorsetshire
Sudbury	Suffolk
Thetford	Norfolk
Thirsk	York
Totness	Devonshire
Wallingford	Berkshire
Wilton	Wilts

SCHEDULE (C.)

Thirteen Places to return two Members each, showing the principal places to be Boroughs, Parishes, Townships, &c. to be included in the Boroughs, and the Returning Officers.

Manchester, including the township of Manchester, townships of Chorlton Row, Ardwick, Beswick, Hulme, Cheetham, Bradford, Newton and Harpurhey, in the Hundred of Salford, Lancashire.—*Returning Officers*, the Boroughreeve and Constables of Manchester.

Birmingham, including the town of Birmingham, parish of Edgbaston, townships of Duddleston and Vichels, and Deritend, Warwickshire.—*Returning Officers*, the two Bailiffs of the town of Birmingham.

Leeds, including the borough and liberty of Leeds, Yorkshire.—*Returning Officer*, the Mayor of Leeds.

Greenwich, including the parishes of Greenwich, St. Nicholas and St. Paul, Deptford; Woolwich, Kent.

Sheffield, including the townships of Sheffield, Ecclesall, Brightside, Nether Hallam, Upper Hallam and Attercliffe, Yorkshire.—*Returning Officer*, the Master Cutler.

Sunderland, including the parishes of Sunderland, Bishopwearmouth, and Monkwearmouth, Durham.

Devonport, including the town of Devonport, parish of Stoke Damerell, and township of Stonehouse, Devonshire.

Wolverhampton, including the townships of Wolverhampton, Bilston, Willenhall, Wednesfield, and parish of Sedgley, Staffordshire.—*Returning officer*, Constable of the Manor of the Deanery of Wolverhampton.

Tower Hamlets, including the parishes of the Tower Division, in Ossulston Hundred, Middlesex.

Finsbury, including the parishes of the Finsbury Division, in Ossulston Hundred, Middlesex.

Holborn, including the parishes of St. Andrew, Holborn, and St. George the Martyr, Saffron Hill, Hatton Garden, Ely Rents, Liberty of the Rolls, St. Giles-in-the-Fields, and St. George, Bloomsbury, Middlesex.

Mary-le-bone, including the parishes of St. Mary-le-bone, St. Pancras, and Paddington, Middlesex.

Lambeth, including the St. Mary, Lambeth, St. Mary, Newington, Bermondsey, Rotherhithe, Camberwell, Surrey.

SCHEDULE (D.)

Twenty-six Places to return One Member each, showing the principal places to be Boroughs; Parishes, Townships, &c. to be included in the Boroughs; and the Returning Officers.

Brighthelmstone, including the parish of Brighthelmstone, Sussex.—*Returning Officer*, the Constable of the hundred of Whalesbone.

Bolton-le-Moors, including the townships of Great and little Bolton, Lancashire.—*Returning Officer*, the Boroughreeve.

Blackburn, including the township of Blackburn, Lancashire.

Bradford, including the township of Bradford, Yorkshire.

Bury, including the township of Bury, Lancashire.

Cheltenham, including the town of Cheltenham, Gloucestershire.

Dudley, including the parish of Dudley, Worcestershire.

Frome, including the town of Frome, Somersetshire.

Gateshead, including the parish of Gateshead, Durham.

Halifax, including the township of Halifax, Yorkshire.

Huddersfield, including the parish of Huddersfield, Yorkshire.

Kidderminster, including the town of Kidderminster, Worcestershire.—*Returning Officer*, Bailiff.

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Kendal, including the town of Kendal, Westmoreland.—*Returning Officer*, Mayor.

Macclesfield, including the town of Macclesfield, Cheshire.—*Returning Officer*, Mayor.

Oldham, including the parish of Oldham, Lancashire.

Rochdale, including the township of Spotland, Lancashire.

Salford, including the townships of Salford, Pendleton, and Broughton, Lancashire.—*Returning Officer*, Boroughreeve of Salford.

South Shields, including the town of South Shields, township of Westoe, Durham.

Stockport, including the town of Stockport, Cheshire.—*Returning Officer*, the Mayor.

Stoke-upon-Trent, including the townships of Longton and Lane End, Fenton Culvert, Fenton Vivian, Penkhull and Boothern, Shelton, Hanley, Burslem, with the vill of Rushton Grange and the hamlet of Sneyd, Tunstall Court, Chell, and Oldcott, Staffordshire.

Tynemouth, including the parish of Tynemouth, Northumberland.

Wakefield, including the township of Wakefield, Yorkshire.

Walsall, including the borough and foreign of Walsall, Staffordshire.—*Returning Officer*, the Mayor.

Warrington, including the town of Warrington, Lancashire.

Whitby, including the townships of Whitby and Ruswarp, Yorkshire.

Whitehaven, including the town of Whitehaven, town and parish of Workington, and parish of Harrington, Cumberland.

SCHEDULE (E.)

Kingston-upon-Hull, to include Sculcoates, Yorkshire.

Penryn, to include Falmouth, Cornwall.

Portsmouth, to include Portsea, county of Southampton.

Rochester, to include Chatham and Stroud, Kent.

Sandwich, to include Deal and Wallmer, Kent.

SCHEDULE (F.)

Places sharing in the Election of Members

Amlwch, Holyhead, and Llangefni, sharing with Beaumaris, in the county of Anglesey.

Aberystwith, Lampeter, and Adpar, sharing with Cardigan, in the county of Cardigan.

Llanelly, sharing with Caermarthen, in the county of Caermarthen.

Pwllheli, Newin, Conway, Bangor, and Cricceith, sharing with Caernarvon, in the county of Caernarvon.

Ruthin, Holt, and Wrexham, sharing with Denbigh, in the county of Denbigh.

Rhyddlan, Overton, Carwis, Caergonly, St. Asaph, Holywell, and Mold, sharing with Flint, in the county of Flint.

Llandaff, Cowbridge, Merthyr Tydvil, Aberdare, and Llantrissant, sharing with Cardiff, in the county of Glamorgan.

Llanidloes, Welch Pool, Machynleth, Llanfylling, and Newtown, sharing with Montgomery, in the county of Montgomery.

Narberth, St. David's, and Fishguard, sharing with Haverfordwest, in the county of Pembroke.

Tenby, Wiston, and Milford Haven, sharing with Pembroke, in the county of Pembroke.

Knighton, Ryador, Kevinleece, Knucklas, and Presteigne, sharing with Radnor, in the county of Radnor.

SCHEDULE (G.)

Counties to return each Four Members.

Chester	Northumberland
Cornwall	Northampton
Cumberland	Nottingham
Derby	Salop
Devon	Somerset
Durham	Stafford
Essex	Suffolk
Gloucester	Surrey
Kent	Sussex
Hampshire	Warwick
Lancaster	Wilts
Leicester	Worcester
Norfolk	

SCHEDULE (H.)

Counties of Cities or Towns.	Counties at large in which Counties of Cities and Towns are to be included.
Canterbury	Kent
Caermarthen	Caermarthenshire
Chester	Cheshire
Coventry	Warwick
Exeter	Devon
Gloucester	Gloucestershire
Haverfordwest	Pembrokeshire
Kingston-upon-Hull	East Riding of Yorkshire
Lincoln	The Parts of Lindsey, Lincolnshire
Litchfield	Staffordshire
London	Middlesex
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Northumberland
Norwich	Norfolk
Nottingham	Nottinghamshire
Poole	Dorset
Southampton	Hampshire
Worcester	Worcestershire.
York and Ainsty	North Riding of Yorkshire.

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, JULY 8, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

ARMITAGE, W. H., Crutched-Friars, hop-merchant.
 JONES, J., Well-street, Wellclose-square, engineer.
 STEVENS, J., Bread-street, Cheapside, warehouseman.

BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

WOOLSEY, J. and J. Secker, Great Yarmouth, wine-merchants.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

MONTEITH, R., Sloane-street, Chelsea, merchant.
 WILLIAMS, J., Manchester, Chemist.

BANKRUPTS.

ABLETT, J., Hollen-street, Wardour-street, carpenter.
 COLE, V., Bordesly, Aston, Warwickshire, victualler.
 COUCHMAN, W., Bishopsgate-street Without, linen-draper.
 CROWTHER, S., Bradford, York, worsted-spinner.

EMERY, W., Bristol, corn-factor.
 HOOPER, J., sen. and E. Franklin, Wiltshire, bankers.
 HUXTABLE, J., Bristol, corn-factor.
 HYDE, J. C., Iver Heath, Buckinghamshire, miller.
 JENKS, J., Bromyard, Hereford, tanner.
 SMITH, W., Turnham-green, tailor.
 SPEDDING, D., Carlisle, Cumberl., butcher.
 STATON, R., Carlton-st., Regent-st., tailor.

TUESDAY, JULY 10, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

DAVIES, T., Swansea, Glamorganshire, maker.
 LEWIS, W., Reading, Berks., retail brewer.
 WACE, D., Newgate-street, grocer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

DROUGHT, T. F., Ilminster, Somersetshire, druggist.
 TOMS, J., Kensington, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

COOPER, J., Aylesbury-street, Clerkenwell, oilman.
 CHAPMAN, J. N., Bridgewater, Somersetshire, linen-draper.
 FLINT, H., Liverpool, boarding-house keeper.
 FAUX, R., Bordesley, Aston, Warwickshire, hop-merchant.
 GOODE, J., Wilderness-row, Goswell-street, engineer.
 JONES, D., St. Woollos, Monmouth, grocer.
 KITCHING, S., Leeds, Yorkshire, victualler.
 NAYLOR, J., Milk-street, Cheapside, warehouseman.
 SMITH, J. C., Lower Deptford-road, Rotherhithe, shipowner.
 SOLOMON, E., Bath, jeweller.
 WRIGHT, J. I. B., Liverpool, druggist.
 SUTTON, J., Andover, Hamps., nurseryman.
 WHITE, W., Newent, Gloucestershire, dealer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JULY 11. Our arrivals, since this day se'nnight, brought us of English wheat, English, and Foreign barley; English malt, English and Irish oats, Foreign flour, and most of seeds from all quarters, but a moderate supply of Foreign wheat, oats, and linseed, and of English flour a good supply. This day's market was thinly attended both by London and country buyers, and trade in it confined to limited transactions and throughout very dull,—with fine fine oats, grinding barley, flour, malt, and beans, at last week's currency; malting barley, and the middling and inferior kinds of wheat and oats, at a depression.

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from 1s. to 2s. per quarter. In seeds of any kind but little doing, and that at last week's currency.

Wheat	47s. to 63s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	28s. to 36s.
— fine	33s. to 42s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers	36s. to 42s.
— Grey	—s. to —s.
Beans, Small	42s. to 44s.
— Tick	36s. to 40s.
Oats, Potatoe	26s. to 32s.
— Poland	26s. to 28s.
— Feed	20s. to 25s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 55s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 48s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 42s. to 48s.	
Pork, India, new... 132s. 0d. to 135s. 0d.	
Pork, Mess, new... 65s. to 67s. 6d. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast —s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Carlow 86s. to —s.	
— Cork 80s. to 81s.	
— Limerick .. 82s. to —s.	
— Waterford 82s. to —s.	
— Dublin —s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire.... 60s. to 84s.	
— Gloucester, Double.. 64s. to 74s.	
— Gloucester, Single... 38s. to 38s.	
— Edam 40s. to 50s.	
— Gouda 46s. to 50s.	
Hams, Irish..... 50s. to 60s.	

SMITHFIELD—July 11.

This day's supply of beasts, sheep, lambs, and calves, was rather great; of porkers but limited.—The trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull—with beef, mutton, lamb, inferior veal, and pork, at Friday's quotations: with prime veal at a depression of 4d. per stone. Beasts, 2,403; sheep and lambs, 26,210; calves, 310; pigs, 252.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, July 15.

The arrivals this week are small, and rather more money is obtained for the best samples.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cents, (Thursday,) 82½

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. An ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by Mr. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6s.

3. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writings also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

4. The ENGLISH GARDENER; or, a Treatise on the situation, soil, enclosing and laying out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-beds and Green-houses; and on the propagation and cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard. And also, on the formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens. Price 6s.

5. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

6. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

7. PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, the History and Mystery of the National Debt, the Bank of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper Money. The Price of this book, very nicely printed, is 5s.

8. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

9. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

10. POOR MAN'S FRIEND. A new edition. Price 8d.

11. THE LAW OF TURNPIKES.

By William Cobbett, Jun., Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 3s. 6d. boards.

12. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION"

in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

13. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.

Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

14. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE.

Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

15. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.

—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is, I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

16. ROMAN HISTORY, French and English, intended, not only as a History for Young People to read, but as a Book of Exercises to accompany my French Grammar.

Two Volumes. Price 13s. in boards.

17. LETTERS FROM FRANCE;

containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

18. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN;

containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 2s. 6d.

19. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price bound in boards, 5s.

Lately published, Price 4s. 6d., extra boards,

JOURNAL

OF

A TOUR IN ITALY,

AND ALSO IN PART OF

FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles,

and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,

From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

In the Press.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES.—This Work, which has been so long in hand, is now in the *Press*. It will contain the Name, Situation, &c., of every *Parish*, and even of every *Hamlet*; it will contain a description, and an Account of the *Country*; also of each *County*; and will, I trust, convey more useful information on this subject, than has ever been conveyed in all other books put together. It is not a book made to flatter fools, nor to hide the doings of public robbers: it is to convey a mass of important truths; its object is to make the English reader well acquainted with all that he need know about his own country. The precise bulk and price of the Book I cannot yet state; but I imagine that it will be a Thick Duodecimo Volume (six or seven hundred pages), and that the Price will be from Eleven to Thirteen Shillings.

To be had at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

GREAT misconception prevails as to the real object of the Committee now sitting, "On the expediency of admitting Molasses into the Distilleries and Breweries." I have made particular inquiry into the subject, and find that all that is sought to be accomplished by the proposed measure is this—that Molasses, the produce of our own Colonies, may be permitted to be used when the price of Barley is so high as to encourage the introduction of foreign barley. W. C.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.